The CRISIS

Vol. 17—No. 4 FEBRUARY, 1919 Whole No. 100

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 17—No. 4 FEBRUARY, 1919 Whole No. 100

Editorial

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

A GREAT man has died and the whole world stands shocked and mourning. Humanity has lost its greatest exemplar of noble aims and single-minded devotion to the development of national welfare and glory. The youth of America had no finer inspiration toward which to strive and with the passing of THEODORE ROOSEVELT passes the world's greatest protagonist of lofty ideals and principles. Take him all in all he was a man, generous, impulsive, fearless, loving the public eye, but intent on achieving the public good. And because he was a man so splendidly human even his detractors admired him and his friends could not eulogize him too highly.

We mourn with the rest of the world as is fitting, but there is too in our sorrow a quality peculiar and apart. We have lost a friend. That he was our friend proves the justice of our cause, for Roosevelt never championed a cause which was not in its essence right. He had his faults —of the head, not of the heart—and even when we suffered as the result of an impulse which we could not reconcile with what we expected at his hands, we were more grieved because *he* had hurt us than at the hurt itself. Even in our hot bitterness over the Brownsville affair we knew that he *believed* he was right, and he of all men had to act in accordance with his beliefs. It is good to remember that in 1917 he justified our trust when at the time of the East St. Louis riots he alone, of all Americans prating of liberty and democracy, uttered his courageous pronouncement at the meeting in Carnegie Hall.

"Justice with me," he shouted, "is not a mere form of words!"

Well may we grieve for him, soldier, statesman and patriot!

LETTERS FROM DR. DU BOIS

On Board the *Orizaba*,
December 8, 1918.

I AM nearing the coast of "La Belle France," after a most delightful voyage. The weather has been cloudy and rainy and the sea rather rough, but the swell of the angry sea was glorious, and the food was fine and I was not sea-sick!

I found when I reached the dock that my troubles were not over. Before I could board the ship I must obtain permission from Mr. Creel, who was in his office on the deck. I rushed in madly—it was crowded with men on the same errand. I waited until after twelve—then I got a chance at the much worried Creel! He had not heard of my intention to go from Mr. Scott or anyone else. He did not see how it was possible—there was no room. I sat down and waited. At last Creel turned to me and handed me my credentials.

By and by Moton, Walton and their secretary followed me aboard. We got a nice room together, with a private bath, and we've had a lovely time. There are fifty-two correspondents aboard, and both Moton and I have lectured to them!

Paris, December 14, 1918.

We reached Brest on the morning of Monday, December 9. Immediately hundreds of colored stevedores boarded us and worked all night long unloading the cargo of oats, salt, Red Cross packages, mail, etc. They worked fast and hard. Someone repeated what I had already heard, that the wonder of this war was the transfer of goods from America, and that Negroes had done marvelous work at this. These were rough workingmen but healthy, and bore themselves like men. We did not land Monday—indeed there was considerable confusion among the correspondents as to their future movements as they had not heard from Creel, who was on the President's ship. After various negotiations—for Brest is a military zone and civilians must give strict account of themselves—we were transferred to a lighter Tuesday morning and landed in Brest under the escort of a military officer. We walked about the city and then had two extra coaches hitched to the five o'clock train and started for Paris. No sleeping cars were available, of course, and it was an all night ride of sixteen hours! In Paris the confusion at the Gare de Montparnasse was the worst I ever conceived of in well-ordered France: no one to collect tickets, no porters, no cabs and a surging crowd. I left Moton and Walton at the depot while Hunt and I went to find rooms; after trying four hotels we at last found comfortable and clean quarters at ten francs per day per person, not, of course, including meals. We will probably have to keep these rooms even when out of the city as Paris is full and still more coming.

It seems that Moton is especially sent by the President and the Secretary of War to talk to colored troops before they embark and possibly to be consulted during the Peace Conference. I just happened to butt in and being the only one who knew any French, we have so far kept together. I presume we shall part tomorrow, when Moton and his party and Thomas Jesse Jones start for the camps. I may be able to get a military pass for this trip later, but I am not sure. Meantime I shall work on the Pan-African Conference. I hope to see Walter Lippman, who is attached to the House party, tomorrow or Wednesday.

President Wilson arrived in Paris today. A holiday was declared and the streets were jammed by a vast crowd. I caught the merest glimpse of the cortege.

Everywhere are evidences of war—cannon, protected buildings, soldiers of all nations—but most of all the women clothed in silent black!

AFRICA

EUROPE had begun to look with covetous eyes toward Africa as early as 1415 when the Portuguese at the Battle of Ceuta gained a foothold in Morocco. Thereafter Prince Henry of Portugal instituted the series of explorations which resulted not only in the discovery of Cape Verde, the Guinea Coast and the Cape of Good Hope, but by 1487 gave to Portugal the possession of a very fair slice of the African East Coast. This was the beginning of the Portuguese Colonies of Guinea, Angola and East Africa. Other European nations, France, Holland, Spain, England and Denmark, followed and set up trading stations along the African coast whose chief reason for existence was the fostering of the slave trade.

But the partition of Africa as we know it is much more recent and begins with the founding in 1884 of the Congo Free State whose inception was so zealously fostered by Leopold of Belgium and which in 1908 was annexed to Belgium. The

"scramble" for African colonies was on and within a quarter of a century Africa was virtually in the hands of Europe.

In this division the British Empire gained a network of possessions extending from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan down to South Africa with valuable holdings on the East Coast and in Somaliland. France came next with an actually larger area, but with a smaller population. Her spoils reached from Morocco and Algeria, including the Algerian Sahara, to the French Congo, and on the Eastern Coast comprised Madagascar and French Somaliland. Germany, who was late in entering the game of colonization, contrived none the less to become mistress of four very valuable colonies, Togoland, Kamerun, South-West Africa and East Africa. Italy's and Spain's possessions were relatively unimportant, embracing for the former, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, and for the latter Rio de Oro and the Muni River settlements.

This was the state of affairs when the war broke out in 1914. In Africa the only independent states were the Republic of Liberia, and the kingdom of Abyssinia which, according to history, has been independent since the days of Menelek, the reputed Son of Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba. The number of souls thus under the rule of aliens is astounding, amounting in the case of England, France, Germany and Belgium to more than 110,000,000. During the course of the war Germany lost all four of her African colonies with a population estimated at 13,420,000. It is the question of the reapportionment of this vast number of human beings which has started the Pan-African movement. Colored America is indeed involved.

"If we do not feel the chain
When it works another's pain,
Are we not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed?"

RECONSTRUCTION AND AFRICA

THE suggestion has been made that these colonies which Germany has lost should not be handed over to any other nation of Europe but should, under the guidance of *organized civilization*, be brought to a point of development which shall finally result in an autonomous state. This plan has met with much criticism and ridicule. Let the natives develop along their own lines and they will "go back," has been the cry. Back to what, in Heaven's name?

Is a civilization naturally backward because it is different? Outside of cannibalism, which can be matched in this country, at least, by lynching, there is no vice and no degradation in native African customs which can begin to touch the horrors thrust upon them by white masters. Drunkenness, terrible diseases, immorality, all these things have been the gifts of European civilization. There is no need to dwell on German and Belgian atrocities, the world knows them too well. Nor have France and England been blameless. But even supposing that these masters had been models of kindness and rectitude, who shall say that any civilization is in itself so superior that it must be superimposed upon another nation without the expressed and intelligent consent of the people most concerned. The culture indigenous to a country, its folk-customs, its art, all this must have free scope or there is no such thing as freedom for the world.

The truth is, white men are merely juggling with words—or worse—when they declare that the withdrawal of Europeans from Africa will plunge that continent into chaos. What Europe, and indeed only a small group in Europe, wants in Africa is not a field for the spread of European civilization, but a field for exploitation. They covet the raw materials,—

ivory, diamonds, copper and rubber in which the land abounds, and even more do they covet cheap native labor to mine and produce these things. Greed,—naked, pitiless lust for wealth and power, lie back of all of Europe's interest in Africa and the white world knows it and is not ashamed.

Any readjustment of Africa is not fair and cannot be lasting which does not consider the interests of native Africans and peoples of African descent. Prejudice, in European colonies in Africa, against the ambitious Negro is greater than in America, and that is saying much. But with the establishment of a form of government which shall be based on the concept that Africa is for Africans, there would be a chance for the colored American to emigrate and to go as a pioneer to a country which must, sentimentally at least, possess for him the same fascination as England does for Indian-born Englishmen.

NOT "SEPARATISM"

THIS is not a "separatist" movement. There is no need to think that those who advocate the opening up of Africa for Africans and those of African descent desire to deport any large number of colored Americans to a foreign and, in some respects, inhospitable land. Once for all, let us realize that we are Americans, that we were brought here with the earliest settlers, and that the very sort of civilization from which we came made the complete adoption of western modes and customs imperative if we were to survive at all. In brief, there is nothing so indigenous, so completely "made in America" as we. It is as absurd to talk of a return to Africa, merely because that was our home 300 years ago, as it would be to expect the members of the Caucasian race to return to the fastnesses of the Caucasus Mountains from which, it is reputed, they sprang.

But it is true that we as a people are not given to colonization, and that thereby a number of essential occupations and interests have been closed to us which the redemption of Africa would open up. The African movement means to us what the Zionist movement must mean to the Jews, the centralization of race effort and the recognition of a racial fount. To help bear the burden of Africa does not mean any lessening of effort in our own problem at home. Rather it means increased interest. For any ebullition of action and feeling that results in an amelioration of the lot of Africa tends to ameliorate the condition of colored peoples throughout the world. And no man liveth to himself.

AFRICA

VIRGINIA P. JACKSON

OFTEN now I hear a voice a-calling,
Calling me across the mighty sea,
And responsively my heart is swelling,
Native land, I long to answer thee.

Long to leave the hate of foster mother,
To be nurtured by thy kindly hand,
Sitting at thy feet with my black brother,
Africa! to know thy sunny land.

THE COLORED AMERICANS IN FRANCE

This article appeared in a newspaper in a town in France where the Ninety-second Division was temporarily quartered. The author was a French woman. The translation is by Lieutenant Charles A. Shaw.

CAPTAIN J. A. KENNEDY, M. R. C.,
366th Infantry

A PEACEFUL town, far from the front. A beautiful June day, full of the perfume of roses. Resplendent summer freely bursting into bloom, indifferent to human plaints, frets and agitations.

Scene in the town: a boy of ten years, head like an urchin of the year one, runs through the streets crying, "The Americans are coming to B——; the inhabitants are invited to greet them."

"The Americans!" For months they had been discussed, they had been expected and there was great curiosity; groups of people go down to the public square of the town where they see upon the white street the first ranks of the Allied soldiers.

But, what a surprise—they are *black* soldiers! Black soldiers? Great astonishment, a little fear. The rural population, not well-informed, knows well the Negro of Africa, but that from America—the country of the classical type, characterized by the cold, smooth white face—that from America could come this dark group, none could believe his own eyes.

They dispute among themselves, they are a little irritated; some of the women become afraid. One of them confides to me that she feels the first symptoms of an attack of indigestion. Smiling, I reassure the lady with the all too emotional stomach:

"Quiet yourself. They do not eat human flesh. Two or three days from now you will be perfectly used to them."

I said two or three days, but from that very evening the ice is broken. Native and foreigner smile at each other, and try to understand each other. The next day we see the little children in the arms of the huge Negroes, confidently pressing their rosy cheeks to the cheeks of ebony, with their mothers looking on in approbation.

A deep sympathy is created for these men, which yesterday was not even surmised. Very quickly it is seen that they have nothing of the savage in them, but that, on

CAPTAIN WILLIAM H. THOMPSON,
317th Engineers

the other hand, one could not find a soldier more faultless in his bearing, and in his manners more affable or more delicate than these Children of the Sun, whose ancestors dreamed under the wonderful nights, along the murmuring streams.

We admire their forms, handsome, vigorous and athletic; their intelligent and loyal faces, with their large, gleaming eyes, at times dreamy and with a bit of sadness in them.

Far removed is the time when their inauspicious influence was felt upon the digestive organs of the lady. Now one is honored to have them at his table. He spends hours in long talks with them, with a great supply of dictionaries and manuals of conversation. The white mothers weep to see the photographs of the black mothers and display the portraits of their soldier sons. The fiancees of our *poilus* become interested in the fiancees across the sea—in their dress, in their head-dress, and in everything which makes woman resemble woman, in every clime.

Late at night the workers of the fields forget their fatigue as they hear arise

CAPTAIN JOSEPH LOWE,
317th Engineers

CAPTAIN SPAHR H. DICKEY,
351st Machine Gun Battalion

through the peaceful night the melancholy voices which call up to the memory of the exile his distant country.

In the lanes along the flowery hedges more than one blond head is seen moving thoughtfully beside a curly head, while the setting sun makes blue the neighboring hills, and gently the song of night is awakened.

And then, these soldiers, who had become friends, depart. One evening sad *adieux* are exchanged. *Adieux?* How we wish they may be only "*au revoirs*" (until we meet again)! Promises to correspond, to return when furloughs are granted. Here and there tears fall, and when the next day the heavy trucks roll off in the chilly morning, carrying away to the front our exotic guests, a veritable sadness seizes us!

Soldier Friends, our hearts, our wishes go with you. May the bullets of the enemy spare you. May destiny be merciful to you. And if any of you should never see your native home again, may the soil of France give you sweet repose.

Soldiers, who arrived among us one clear June day, redolent with the scent of roses, you will always live in our hearts!

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEGRO

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

SIX months ago the word on everyone's lips was War: the need of continuing the struggle against the Central Powers. Today, the first thought of those who think at all is Reconstruction; what will be done for the people, in the land of the victor and the land of the vanquished? Out of this terrible slaughter, this immeasurable loss of property and life, what advance will be made toward justice and humanity?

Every oppressed group, workingmen, carving out others' fortunes while they themselves remain in poverty; women, deprived of their rights as citizens; small nationalities, disrupted by the ambitions of aggressive empires; so-called "inferior races," persecuted by the race at the moment in power; each and everyone of these groups is engaged in a separate struggle to secure something of value for itself in the chaos that comes at the close of a great war. Now, they realize, while systems are fluid, before the structure of society becomes rigid again, is the opportunity to win the reality of democracy. So among other signs, we see the Jews at length about to secure the government of Palestine; the Irish returning republican Sinn Feiners to the British parliament; Jugo-Slavs and Czecho-Slovaks throwing off the Austrian rule; and in America, with growing persistence, we hear the American Negro demanding his rights as a citizen in the American democracy.

Reconstruction for the Negro has a more complex aspect than Zionism or even than the setting up of an Irish republic. The Negro for many generations has been a native of the United States, and he has no yearning to return to his unsalubrious birthplace. Nor has he any Emerald Island of his own. He is living on a continent dominated by the white race, himself but a tenth in number of the population. His position may be compared to that of the emancipated serfs in Prussia, attached to the land of their birth, but demanding that the antiquated feudalism that kept them without the ballot and subject to many humiliations be removed. But, again, the dissimilarity of race has from the beginning made the advance of the emancipated black more difficult than that of the emancipated white. Probably among all the peoples clamoring for liberty and the right to fuller self-expression in this year of 1919 none has a more uphill road than the American Negro.

What is the Reconstruction that the Negro demands?

Mr. J. R. Hawkins, of Washington, D. C., in an able speech made before the District of Columbia Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., which has been commented upon by a portion of the press, makes an analogy between President Wilson's fourteen peace points and the fourteen points desired by the Negro. Mr. Hawkins' fourteen points are:

1. *Universal suffrage.*
2. *Better educational facilities in the South.*
3. *Abolition of the so-called "Jim-Crow" system.*
4. *Discontinuance of unjust discriminatory regulations and segregation in the various departments of the government.*
5. *The same military training for colored youth as for white.*
6. *The removal of an imaginary dead line in the recognition of fitness for promotion in military and naval service.*
7. *The removal of the peonage system in the South.*
8. *An economic wage to be applied to white and colored alike.*
9. *Better housing conditions for colored employees in industrial plants.*
10. *Better sanitary conditions in certain sections of our cities and towns.*
11. *Reform in the penal institutions of the South.*
12. *A fair and impartial trial by jury instead of lynching.*
13. *Recognition of the Negro's right and fitness to sit on juries.*
14. *Fair play. "As the Negro has been among the first to give his best,*

his all, to his country in every struggle for the defence of its flag, so he wants and expects equal opportunity to serve in the development of his country and the full enjoyment of the fruits thereof."

Now, the practical question that we must all ask ourselves is—How shall the American Negro go about it to secure as many as possible of these fourteen points which were so ably presented by Mr. Hawkins, but which we reproduce in bare outlines only? The recital of wrongs is essential to clear thinking upon the subject; agitation against wrong is absolutely necessary to awaken men's minds to the iniquities which are perpetrated; but a program for the righting of the wrong is also a prime necessity. To give such a comprehensive program within the space of a short magazine article is impossible. We can only indicate certain possibilities along which action may be taken.

Mr. Hawkins' demands may be separated into two classes: Those relating solely to the Negro and those applicable, though in lesser degree, to all the American working class.

To take the last group first: Six points are applicable to white as well as colored—the removal of peonage, the securing of a better wage, better schools, better housing, better sanitary conditions and reform in penal institutions. In so far as and to the extent that the level of Negro opportunity in given communities is below that of the whites in these six directions, if due or contributed to by denials of fundamental weapons of social and economic progress such as the ballot, there is, of course, an added factor of a purely race-discriminatory character to be overcome.

Whenever possible the best thing that the Negro can do to achieve these six goals is to join with the progressive forces in the general community and to work with them for their attainment. This should not be impossible even in the South. White men and colored men, white women and colored women, have been working side by side in the war campaigns, and progress has been made along economic and sanitary lines. Every effort should be made to see that this community of effort does not cease.

The Negro has shown conclusively that he can work with white men at difficult tasks and achieve equally good results. This has been demonstrated in some of the great industrial plants, notably in the shipyards and the steel works. The old contention that the Negro could not handle machinery has been proved to be false. The managers of great ship-building plants along the Atlantic seaboard testified before the Federal Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board that Negroes had worked on machines gauged to as fine a degree as one-one thousandth of an inch with perfect satisfaction. The first record-breaking riveting feat was won by a Negro crew at Sparrows Point, Md. Consequently, as never before, the Negro is an important factor in the world of skilled labor and the battle for a high standard of wages is his battle equally with the white man. He should accordingly fight for his right to join the union of his craft, or if that be denied him, form a union of his own. Until the Negro recognizes the solidarity of labor neither he nor the white man can permanently be assured of their industrial and manhood rights.

The children south of Mason and Dixon's line are poorly educated. Compulsory education is almost unknown, and through long-stretching rural sections the schools are poorly equipped and the teachers paid meagre salaries. And while this is true of the white South it is several times more true of the colored. For school funds, raised per capita, are distributed per color. In North Carolina the white child gets two and a half times the amount spent on him for teachers' salaries that is spent on the colored; in Virginia the proportion is three and a half times; in Florida four times; in Alabama five times; in South Carolina seven times; in Louisiana ten times the amount spent on the colored—these latter states providing the pitiful sum of $1.44 and $1.31 a year, respectively, in teachers' salaries, for each Negro child. This discrimination is disgraceful. The poverty of the schools and the lack of proper educational facilities are appalling. The cure today should be sought not only from the South itself in a demand for fair apportionment, but also from all of the United States. The wealth of the country is for the most part in the North and West, and the war, that

immense national undertaking, achieved by the people as a whole, should smash for all time through state lines when the welfare of the coming generations is at stake. The poor white and the Negro of the South should together demand federal aid to education, aid based on the needs of the children.

In the army of the United States (we shall soon have the exact figures) there were thousands upon thousands of illiterate, American-born young men, white and black, but chiefly black, who were conscripted to give their lives for their country, a country richer than any other land in the world, but which had not yet given them a sufficient education to enable them to read an order from a commanding officer. Illiteracy, it must not be forgotten, is an indictment, not of the individual but of society. On the basis of these figures of illiteracy, taken from army camp records, a campaign should at once open for immediate national, adequate aid to education that in ten years should wipe out all illiteracy among American-born children. Such a campaign, although the emphasis, *Bulletins No.* 38–39, *U. S. Bureau of Education*, 1916, *Report on Negro Education*, has so far been placed upon the needs of foreign-born citizens, has already been begun under the stimulus of Secretary of the Interior Lane. The Negro, who needs no "Americanization," should press for his right to be freed from the incubus of ignorance and illiteracy. To benefit him it must be seen to that federal aid, as is contemplated in the pending (Hoke) Smith Bill, be fairly apportioned as between white and colored schools, where separate schools are an established practice.

Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, on his "own account and at the request of the National Education Association and the Association of College Presidents," has introduced a bill "to create a Department of Education, to appropriate money for Federal cooperation with the states in the encouragement and support of education, and for other purposes." For the support of the department $500,000 annually is appropriated; for federal cooperation with the states, $100,000,000. This sum is allocated to several different objects or groups of objects, including the abolition of illiteracy. The states, in order to secure the benefits of the proposed law, must make appropriations for corresponding purposes equal to the allotments available in the form of federal aid, and must conform to various other requirements.

Housing, sanitation—these are things that Reconstruction especially hopes to remedy. The war has grappled with disease, especially with social diseases, has built up standards of hygiene and has attacked the problem of decent housing. In the next few years there should be an immense impetus toward sanitation in country as well as city, toward the tearing down of unsanitary homes and the building of clean and attractive new ones. Think of the reconstruction work that we did in France! The Negro should unite with the whites to see that the same forces that made possible reconstruction in France are turned toward reconstruction in America and especially toward reconstruction in that part of the country that needs it most.

Mr. Hawkins asks for better penal institutions in the South. Penal institutions are still horrible, disgusting breeders of disease and crime throughout the country and they are at their worst in the Southern States, as has been shown by scientific students of penology. Our whole conception of crime and of the treatment of the criminal has until recently been only a grade above the rack and the stake; and so intrenched are our penal institutions in politics that it is discouragingly difficult for new methods to receive a fair trial. The South has, however, a few reformatories where the colored youth is given a chance to redeem his life. This has come about through the devotion of Negro men and women of social vision who have given unstintingly of their personal service. Only the surface has been scratched in efforts for modern probation methods, juvenile courts and similar advanced practices of dealing with the offender, particularly the youth and first offenders. Institutions for feebleminded and defective Negroes are practically unknown for Negro unfortunates in the South. The prison reform associations and kindred bodies should be brought in closest touch with colored welfare workers and reform projects energetically pushed.

The eight other points of Mr. Hawkins'

fourteen concern the Negro alone. They resolve themselves into a demand for the ballot, the right to travel as others travel, to live as others live, to enter without question into the life of the American citizen. Disfranchisement and segregation, unfair trial in the courts or no trial at all, these are relics of slavery, of that overlordship of which we first spoke, that strives to keep the worker where he has formerly been, stamped with the sign of inferiority. Thanks partly to the valiant American Negro soldier, it has become impossible to hold men as inferiors in Prussia; it is still easy to do so in America where the lord can always point to the difference in race, refusing to treat those of another color on their merits, segregating those who have long since left the group of workers with the humblest laborer, and employing learned Dryasdusts to prove the immense superiority of himself, the Superman.

How, then, can the Negro battle to secure these great things which Mr. Hawkins enumerates—the abolition of segregation in government, in the army, in the daily life of the colored man as he moves from place to place or settles in his permanent abode?

Reconstruction comes at the close of the war—a war fought for democracy—and it comes to aid in better living especially those who have served their country and their country's government. Yet the last place to which the returning colored soldier can look for justice is Washington, the very fountain-head of the government he has so faithfully served. Our government is today in the hands of men inimical to his claims for citizenship, men who degrade the uniform while they degrade him. The railroads are operated by the United States, but colored soldiers are Jim-Crowed as they return to their homes, are denied the right to sleep in Pullmans, are refused food at railroad restaurants. Since 1912 the Negro federal employee has been subjected to many petty acts of discrimination that have aroused race antagonism and created antipathies that never existed before.

But, fortunately, in a republic legislatures change with considerable swiftness and in the coming two years the Negro will find many good friends to press his claims in the new Congress. He cannot, however, expect his friends to do much until he himself presents an immense driving force to stand behind whoever espouses his cause. The power of numbers, but *organized* numbers, is the power that wins the battle. Every reader of THE CRISIS, white and colored, should be a member of the organization for which THE CRISIS stands, of which it is a part. Progress is won when people band themselves together, conviction of the righteousness of their cause in their hearts. In a year the N. A. A. C. P. has linked together forty-three thousand people where formerly it had less than ten thousand. If it continues in the same proportion, it should have 160,000 by January 1, 1920. This would mean groups of men and women, throughout the whole country, who at a given moment could act unitedly for the benefit of the race. This is the first great force to be used to secure the franchise, fair trial by jury, anti-lynching.

And the practical program for this fighting mass? It is not something to be decided on in its entirety. To stamp out segregation by legal decision, as the Supreme Court decision won by the Association through its President, Mr. Moorfield Storey, did stamp it out, was the work of years. To test the right of the state to segregate passengers in interstate travel will be a matter, perhaps, of many more years. To reduce southern representation by enforcing the Fourteenth Amendment will be a gigantic task to enter upon. But every day there is the unceasing battle, in smaller matters, against the tendency in the United States, North and South, to treat the Negro as one less worthy of regard than the white. The only way to progress is to take up each case as it comes and work to win it. How much this is done today the story of the Association's Branches, as told in the *Bulletin*, is evidence. It may be rescuing a woman from being convicted as a vagrant under the "work or fight" law in Georgia; it may be securing the right to sit in the orchestra of a theatre in a northern city; but each time it is a bit gained in the great movement for the destruction of racial discrimination in a democracy that has preached to the world freedom and justice to all.

The last point to be touched upon in Mr. Hawkins' summary is the right of a Negro

to a fair trial instead of lynching.

The American people are beginning to be a trifle worried over the country's lynching record which is a standing reproach. Sixty-four cases in 1918 is an increase of forty percent over the preceding year. Moreover, this year's lynchings have been on an average more brutal than ever before. Torturing, burning, the stringing up of a pregnant woman and mutilation of her body, hanging a soldier for resisting a sheriff's arrest; these are a few of the many ghastly tales.

How to prevent their repetition! There are two things that make pre-eminently for lynching, ignorance, and the despotic power of one man over the life of another. In the ignorant, semi-civilized sections of the South, one would expect lynchings to continue until education was prevalent. But it is significant that some of the worst lynchings of the year have been in prosperous, attractive cities like Valdosta. The education of the white man will not bring these horrors to an end. Lynchings occur in such places because the South by legislation, by disfranchisement, has rendered the Negro practically helpless. He is as the Belgian when the German entered his land. If he is submissive, ready to obey the master class, he is not likely to be lynched, however heinous his crime. But any sign of rebellion and the torture begins. Thus, Mary Turner at Valdosta was lynched because she dared to say that her husband was innocent and had been wrongfully seized by the mob. A helpless man is the first to suffer from mob violence. And so long as the Negro is helpless he will be a victim when his crime, or supposed crime, brings anger and passion to men's hearts. Often the passion stirred is that ignoble one of "white supremacy"—to be maintained even at the cost of the most brutal barbarity.

Increasingly, in this world, we are learning that there is no half-way status—a man must be a man or a slave. When he ceases to be a slave, he can never be a safe element in the population until he becomes a man. America might as well face this. Europe is facing it among the many nationalities that have, of a sudden, sprung into prominence demanding their full manhood rights. We in the western hemisphere had hardly heard of these recalcitrant groups but their rulers had heard of them for centuries and with all their despotism had never been able to stifle the spirit that kept them a restless, menacing factor in the community life. They were the stumbling blocks to reform; to keep them "in their place" the empires that ruled them lost in finer forms of civilization. Now these peoples are coming into their own. And in the United States the oppressed Negro race, rich in genius, kindly, hard-working, is also coming into its own. The way may be long, but a good start has been made along the road.

AFRICA AND THE WORLD DEMOCRACY

A Report

AFRICA must ultimately be returned to the Africans. They are the best custodians of their lives and ideals. This was the thought developed at the meeting for the Pan-African Movement, held January 6, 1919, at Carnegie Hall, New York, under the auspices of the N. A. A. C. P. Mr. John R. Shillady, Secretary of the Association, presided.

The man who was first presented to the audience was too shattered to speak, but his mere presence was a source of inspiration, and in itself constituted a strong plea for the renewed consideration of Negro rights. This was Captain Napoleon Bonaparte Marshall, who was commissioned as Lieutenant two years ago, and who on his arrival in France was made Captain and Judge Advocate by Colonel Hayward. Captain Marshall has been wounded several times and now is wearing a steel harness.

Interest in African affairs was immensely stimulated by the remarks of Dr. William Henry Sheppard, of Louisville, Ky. Dr. Sheppard has been a missionary to Africa and led the first known expedition into

the forbidden land of King Lukenga. He also found a new tribe called Bakuka and discovered a lake in the interior of the Congo region which in 1910 was named Lake Sheppard by the Belgian Government.

This pioneer into Central Africa did much to bring the cause of native Africans close to the hearts of his audience. In a speech frequently intermingled with words and expressions in African dialect he told of the lives of those far-off peoples who are not naturally unkind, and who fight the invader only to protect themselves. If the visitor can satisfy the inhabitants of an African village as to his good intentions, he is made welcome. The tribes among which Dr. Sheppard had lived had reached a high state of civilization. They manufactured cloth, thread, and fashioned needles of iron; they made hats of cowrie shells and had razors which were deftly wielded by the women who are the African barbers.

And then Dr. Sheppard told a horrible thing. One day a hostile African king was reported to be close at hand with his forces. At the risk of his own life the missionary travelled to the camp of this invader. He was received and ushered into the chamber of the king. And there he saw eighty-one right hands which had been cut off and were in process of being cured! Above them waved the flag of Belgium and the king on being questioned produced papers from Belgian Leopold, of evil fame, asking for ivory, rubber or *hands of men!* Dr. Sheppard insists that the horrors of the Congo were the immediate result of Leopold's personal interest and not connected with the interests of the Belgian Government. The distinction is fine.

After some musical numbers had been strikingly rendered by the Linwood Home Quartet and also by the Band of the "New Fifteenth," the discussion shifted then from the relation of actual experiences to the presentation of the extremely welcome theories of Professor Horace Meyer Kallen, of Harvard University, who is now working with Norman Angell on the League of Free Nations, and who is soon to attend the Peace Conference.

Professor Kallen struck at the economic cause which lies back of the long and unclean story of atrocities in Africa. It is the greed, he declared, of a few men who persist in using both their black and white fellows to enrich themselves. Traders cross from Europe not to sell the native what would bring him happiness, but what would bring the white man wealth. The articles mostly offered for sale are rum and old-fashioned guns.

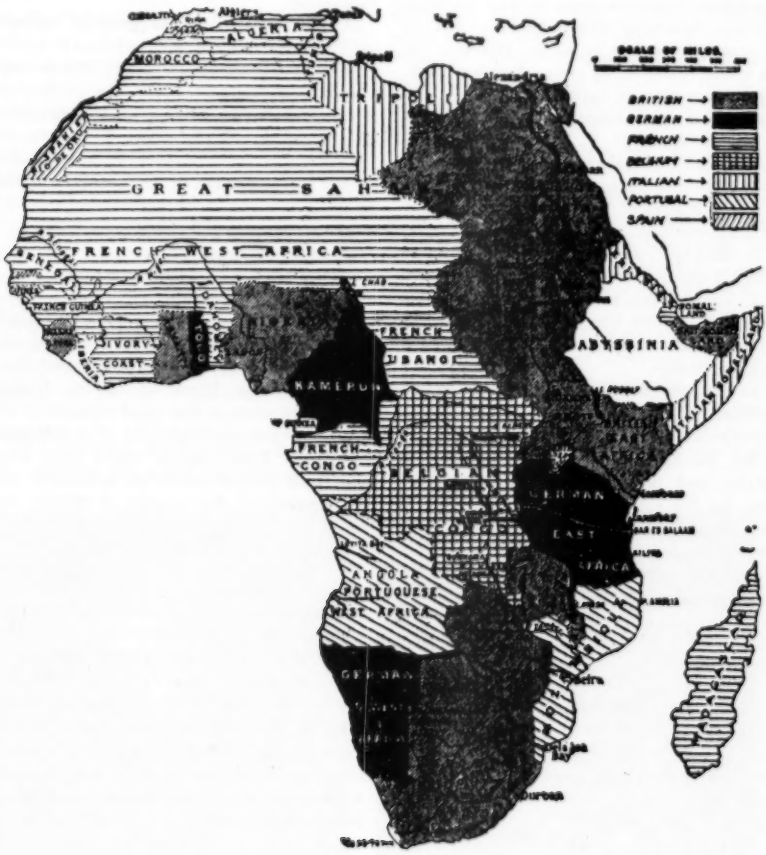
When the natives gradually realizing that they are being made the victims of greed and exploitation offer resistance, the intervention of the home government is called in, the resistance is put down with a ruthless hand and a *new colony is founded!* The lot of the natives of such a colony is a horrible one before they reach the state of subjection which will best serve the ends of the European country. Thus the Germans in Middle Africa treated the splendid tribe of the Hereros just as the Belgians treated the Congolese,—virtually wiped them out of existence.

The remarkable thing is that, according to Professor Kallen, Europe has really gained nothing by her exploitation of Middle Africa. White people do not want to go there to live. They prefer America or Australia. Without the existence of trading companies and the ambitions of European bankers, Africa would be left to work out her salvation as best she might. The cheapness of native labor constitutes a serious menace, for it works to the disadvantage of European labor. It is to the interest of the rank and file of mankind everywhere that middle Africa be regarded as a trust for the plain peoples of the world.

This would call for a League of Free Nations whose purpose should be not to exploit but to encourage self-development. Experts are needed from all nations who understand conditions in Africa. Colored peoples, as the ones most concerned, must be included in such an organization.

At the close of Professor Kallen's remarks, Mary White Ovington, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P., was presented. During the absence of Major Spingarn, who is abroad, Miss Ovington has been Acting-Chairman, but by a recent election she has become Chairman in full. Miss Ovington read the following significant cable which has been sent from France to the business session of the annual meeting

Africa and the World Democracy



HOW AFRICA WAS DIVIDED UP AMONG THE NATIONS OF EUROPE BEFORE THE WAR

Country	Area Sq. Miles	Populat'n
British Empire	3,700,000	52,325,000
France	4,641,000	29,577,000
Germany	931,000	13,420,000
Portugal	749,000	8,244,000
Italy	593,000	1,579,000
Belgium (Belgian Congo)	909,000	15,000,000
Spain	88,000	660,000
INDEPENDENT STATES		
Abyssinia	432,000	8,000,000
Liberia	40,000	1,800,000

of the N. A. A. C. P., by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois:

"Greeting annual meeting. Race and friends uniting here to secure recognition throughout world on terms of full equality. Soldiers returning determined to join in struggle for justice to all in America. In the world crisis let us strive together without compromise or hesitation."

James Weldon Johnson, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., followed the reading of Dr. DuBois' message with a statement of three reasons why the N. A. A. C. P. is interested in the discussion of the African question.

1. Because no other nation is likely to bring it up.

2. Because this is really an international question. Africa was at the bottom of the war. If this question is not settled, war will continue.

3. Because the N. A. A. C. P. is interested in questions concerning the Negro everywhere.

Mr. Johnson then left the subject of Africa and launched upon a magnificent plea for the establishment of the rights of Negroes in America. The American Negro problem is not going to be settled at Versailles. This is a domestic trouble and our fight must be at close quarters. The economic phase is important and must be dealt with. But there are two other conditions which we must meet. These are:

1. Bitter race hatred.

2. National apathy and indifference.

It is hard to tell which works the greater havoc, but on the whole the second is, in the last analysis, the more disastrous. This last the N. A. A. C. P. means to attack during this year.

"By intelligent, persistent, aggressive agitation," the speaker concluded, "we are going to startle, to sting, *to whip* this nation into action! The war is over and no miracle has happened. We are going to fight not for the right to fight in France, but to fight more effectively here!"

A brief statement followed then by Charles Edward Russell, one of the founders of the N. A. A. C. P., and a member of the Diplomatic Mission recently sent to Russia by the United States. Mr. Russell declared himself heartily in favor of the internationalization of the former Germany colonies.

William Jay Schieffelin, who has recently been made Colonel of the "New Fifteenth," also expressed his interest in the movement of the N. A. A. C. P., and his hopes for its success.

In accordance with suggestions offered by Professor Kallen and others, a cablegram was worded to President Wilson and a resolution drawn up for the Senate of the United States, urging their consideration of the African question.

The death of Theodore Roosevelt also evoked an expression of sympathy from the audience.

The cablegram and resolutions follow:

Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
Paris, France.

Mass meeting, January 6, Carnegie Hall, New York, under auspices of National Association for Advancement of Colored People, greets the President of the United States and pledges him loyal support in his efforts toward establishment of a universal League of Free Nations which shall have among its central duties the protection and development of the peoples of Middle Africa.

JOHN R. SHILLADY,
Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE MASS MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, CARNEGIE HALL, JAN. 6, 1919

RESOLVED, That this mass meeting of citizens of the City of New York, held at Carnegie Hall, Monday evening, January 6, 1919, under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to consider "Africa and the World Democracy," urges upon the Senate of the United States the necessity for the creation at once of an international League of Free Nations which shall be charged, among other things, with the care and protection of the peoples of Middle Africa.

RESOLVED, That the citizens of the City of New York, in a mass meeting held at Carnegie Hall, Monday evening, January 6, 1919, express their deep sense of loss at Colonel Roosevelt's death and their keen sense of appreciation of the passion for fairness and right dealing which characterized his thoughts and actions in all his relations with his colored fellow-citizens.

Men of the Month.

NEGRO SOLDIERS

DR. URBANE F. BASS, of Fredericksburg, Va., was one of the several hundred Negroes who volunteered for service in the U. S. Army and trained for officers' commissions at Fort Des Moines. He was graduated from Union University in 1902 and from Shaw University in 1906; since the latter year he had practised medicine at Fredericksburg.

He was commissioned First Lieutenant in the 372d Infantry and sailed with the American Expeditionary Force last March.

On October 7, Lieutenant Bass, while attending wounded soldiers on the firing line was struck by a shell which cut off both his legs from the thigh. He gave his life freely in the service of his country.

LIEUTENANT MALLALIEU W. RUSH received his army commission from Fort Des Moines, with the distinction of being the tallest officer in the American army at that time. He was a graduate of Atlanta University, class of '16, and a signer of the student petition to the government which helped to secure the training camp for Negro officers.

Eight months ago Lieutenant Rush sailed with the American Expeditionary Force, a member of the 366th Infantry. He was given a War Cross. In a letter to his mother, a matron at Atlanta University, he wrote: "About a month ago General ——— sent for me and said he wanted to shake my hand and congratulate me upon the good work I was doing—I will fight and die with my company. We have never yet been defeated nor made to cower by the enemy." And, so, at the age of twenty-three, in one of the last battles of the Great War, as a result of shell fire, he made the supreme sacrifice.

LIEUTENANT URBANE F. BASS

LIEUTENANT MALLALIEU W. RUSH

CAPTAIN NAPOLEON B. MARSHALL

CAPTAIN NAPOLEON B. MARSHALL was sent abroad November, 1917, with the "Fighting Fifteenth." He is a graduate of the M Street High School, Washington, D. C., and of Harvard College and Law School. Previous to going into army service he was a lawyer in New York City.

From March until October Captain Marshall served on the firing line. Three times he was confined to the hospital—first, for a dislocated shoulder; then he was gassed; and finally he was wounded by shell fire and shrapnel, October 21, when he went "over the top" in "No Man's Land." He was conducting on this occasion a night raid south of Metz to capture a machine-gun position at a salient in the enemy's line and to locate the enemy's fire. From these raids, considered by the French to be the highest test of bravery and ability, few return. Fifty yards from the emplacement Captain Marshall opened fire and in returning amid the terrific fire of the enemy was wounded so that he now wears a steel corset. He was cited for gallantry in this action, and was among the soldiers recently returned to the States on the *Celtic*.

THIRD BATTALION, 368TH INFANTRY,
A. P. O. 766, A. E. F.
October 3, 1918.

FROM Commanding Officer, Third Battalion, 368th Infantry, to Commanding Officer, 368th Infantry. Subject: Extraordinary heroism in action of First Lieut. Robert L. Campbell.

1. First Lieut. Robert L. Campbell during attack on Binarville made by this Battalion, 27 and 28 September, 1918, was attached to Battalion Staff as liaison officer.

LIEUTENANT ROBERT L. CAMPBELL

Throughout the entire engagement he maintained a forward message center on *Vienne Le Chateau-Binarville* road abreast of the firing line at all times under machine gun and shell fire from the enemy. He kept the Battalion Headquarters at all times in touch with the firing line and maintained a highly satisfactory and efficient liaison service within the Battalion at great personal risk.

2. On the afternoon of 27 September, 1918, it was necessary to send a runner to the left flank of the firing line about two kilometres south of Binarville, across an open field swept by heavy enemy machine gun fire. The runner was wounded and fell in the middle of the field. Lieutenant Campbell at the risk of his life immediately crossed the field and brought the wounded runner to a place of safety for medical attention, while the same intense enemy machine gun fire still swept the field.

3. In my opinion it was an act of extraordinary heroism in the face of the enemy and I cannot too strongly recommend Lieutenant Campbell for such military honors as higher authority may deem appropriate.

B. F. NORRIS,
Major, 368th Infantry.

CEDAR HILL SAVED

JOSEPHINE T. WASHINGTON

Dedicated to the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs

ABOVE Potomac's rhythmic flow,
To Cedar Hill I go;
Its charm o'er sense and spirit steals,
And as of yore appeals
In cadence sweet and low.

Once lived the hero of his race,
Within this sacred place;
The magic of his presence still
The old home seems to fill,
And mem'ry paints his face.

Far-famed the spot where Douglass dwelt,
Here pilgrims oft have knelt
In homage to his noble fame,
With blessings on his name,
And gratitude heart-felt.

And now before a double shrine,
In praises we combine
With Douglass, great and wise and good,
Devoted womanhood—
'Round both our garlands twine.

In union strong throughout the land,
A consecrated band,
A service measureless they wrought
When Cedar Hill they bought
And saved from alien hand.

Fear not, faint not, O sable race!
The truth naught can efface
Is writ on ev'ry passing breeze;
With women such as these
Our fight is won a-pace.

IN THIS HOUR

B. B. CHURCH

BE strong, my son!
The weakling never can secure
The thing for which he strives. For he
Who rests, and there supinely waits
For some chance guerdon of reward,
But waits in vain.
Be strong! Be strong!
Have faith, my son!
For if with all thy strength, thou canst
Not feel that God is on His throne,
Nor know that all thy life is but
A prelude to a larger growth,
Thy strength were vain.
Have faith in God!

LYNCHING RECORD FOR THE YEAR 1918

ACCORDING to THE CRISIS records there were 64 Negroes, 5 of whom were Negro women, and four white men, lynched in the United States during the year 1918, as compared with 224 persons lynched and killed by mob violence during 1917, 44 of whom were lynchings of Negroes. The record for 1918 follows:

January 17—Hazelhurst, Miss., Sam Edwards, burned to death; charged with murder of Bera Willes, seventeen year old white girl.

" 26—Benton, La., Jim Hudson, hanged; living with a white woman.

February 7—Fayetteville, Ga., "Bud" Cosby, hanged; intent to rob and kidnapping.

" 12—Estill Springs, Tenn., Jim McIllheron, burned; accused of shooting to death two white men. G. W. Lych, who hid McIllheron, was shot to death.

" 23—Fairfax, S. C., Walter Best, hanged; accused of murder.

" 26—Rayville, La., Jim Lewis, Jim Jones and Will Powell, two hanged and one shot to death; accused of stealing hogs. In the fray one white man and one Negro were killed in the exchange of shots.

" 26—Willacoochee, Ga., Ed. Dansy, shot; he had killed two white officers and wounded three others.

March 16—Monroe, La., George McNeel and John Richards, hanged; alleged attack upon a white woman.

" 22—Crawfordville, Ga., Spencer Evans, hanged; convicted of criminal assault upon a colored woman at the February term of court and sentenced to be hanged, but a mob took him from jail and lynched him.

March 26—Lewiston, N. C., Peter Bazemore; alleged attack upon a white woman.

April 4—Collinsville, Ill., Robert P. Praeger, hanged (white); accused of making disloyal remarks.

" 20—Poplarville, Miss., Claud Singleton, hanged; accused of murdering a white man. He had been sentenced to life imprisonment.

" 22—Lexington, Ky., Berry Noyes, hanged; murder of Sheriff W. E. McBride.

" 22—Monroe, La., Clyde Williams, hanged; shooting C. L. Thomas, Missouri - Pacific station agent at Fawndale.

May 17—Valdosta, Ga., Will Head, Will Thompson, Hayes Turner, Mary Turner, Sydney Johnson, Eugene Rice, Chime Riley, Simon Schuman and three unidentified Negroes, hanged; alleged complicity in the murder of Hampton Smith.

" 20—Erwin, Tenn., Thomas Devert, shot and burned; alleged murder of a white girl.

" 22—Red Level, Ala., John Womack, shot; alleged assault on a white woman.

" 22—Miami, Fla., Henry Jackson, hanged; throwing a white man underneath a train.

" 23—Cordele, Ga., James Cobb, hanged; alleged murder of Mrs. Roy Simmons.

" 25—Barnesville, Ga., John Calhoun, shot; alleged murder of John A. Willis.

June 4—Huntsville, Tex., Sarah Cabiness and her six children: George, Peter, Cute, Tenola, Thomas and Bessie, shot; alleged threat by George Cabiness to A. P. W. Allen.

June 4—Beaumont, Tex., Kirby Goolsie, hanged; alleged attack on a white girl.

" 4—Sanderson, Tex., Edward Valentine (white); murder.

" 18—Mangham, La., George Clayton, hanged; murder of his employer, Ben Brooks. In a battle with the posse he wounded six men, probably fatally.

" 18—Earle, Ark., Allen Mitchell, hanged; wounding Mrs. W. M. Langston.

" 29—Madill, Okla., L. McGill, hanged; alleged attack upon a white woman.

July 27—Ben Hur, Tex., Gene Brown, hanged; alleged assault on a white woman.

August 7—Bastrop, La., "Bubber" Hall, hanged; alleged attack on a white woman.

" 11—Colquit, Ga., Ike Radney; reason unknown.

" 15—Nachez, Miss., Bill Dukes, shot to death. "He was guilty of a crime too revolting for publication."

" 15—Quincy, Fla., unidentified Negro; reason unknown.

" 15—Macon, Ga., John Gilham, hanged; alleged attack on two white women.

" 28—Hot Springs, Ark., Frederick Wagner (white); disloyal utterances.

September 3—San Pedro, Cal., Warren Czerich (white); murder.

" 18—Buff Lake, Tex., Obe O'Neal; shot and wounded white man.

" 24—Waycross, Ga., Sandy Reeves, hanged; alleged assault on a white girl.

November 5—Rolesville, N. C., George Taylor, hanged; rape.

" 11—Sheffield, Ala., William Bird, hanged; "for creating disturbance."

" 12—Sheffield, Ala., George Whiteside, hanged; charged with the murder of a policeman.

November 14—Fort Bend County, Tex., Charles Shipman; disagreement between landowner.

" 24—Culpepper, Va., Allie Thompson; charged with assaulting a white woman.

December 10—Green River, Wyo., Edward Woodson; charged with killing a railroad switchman.

" 16—Hickman, Ky., Charles Lewis, hanged; alleged to have beaten Deputy Sheriff Thomas.

" 18—Newport, Ark., Willis Robinson, hanged; murder of Patrolman Charles Williams.

" 21—Shubuta, Miss., Major and Andrew Clarke and Maggie and Alma House, hanged; accused of murder of Dr. E. L. Johnston.

ACCORDING TO STATES

Georgia	19	Kentucky	2
Texas	12	Arkansas	3
Louisiana	9	South Carolina.	1
Mississippi	7	Oklahoma	1
Tennessee	3	Virginia	1
Alabama	3	Wyoming	1
North Carolina.	2	California	1
Florida	2	Illinois	1

BY RACE

Negro	64	White	4

BY SEX (NEGROES)

Male	59	Female	5

NEGROES LYNCHED BY YEARS
1885-1918

1885	78	1903	86
1886	71	1904	83
1887	80	1905	61
1888	95	1906	64
1889	95	1907	60
1890	90	1908	93
1891	121	1909	73
1892	155	1910	65
1893	154	1911	63
1894	134	1912	63
1895	112	1913	79
1896	80	1914	69
1897	122	1915	80
1898	102	1916	55
1899	84	1917	44
1900	107	1918	64
1901	107		
1902	86	Total,	2,975

National · Association · for · the ··· Advancement · of · Colored · People.

Brief Summary of Anti-Lynching Work

THE following is a condensed summary of the Association's anti-lynching work for the year and of its program for 1919. A fuller report of the year's anti-lynching work will be published in pamphlet form and may be obtained, upon request, from the secretary.

LYNCHING RECORD OF THE YEAR

THE record of the year's lynchings appears herein on page 181, classified chronologically, by states and by race and sex (of the Negroes) lynched, including also the number of Negroes lynched each year from 1885 to 1918, inclusive.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF LYNCHINGS

FIVE of the victims have been women; two were burned at the stake before death; four were burned after death; three, aside from those burned at the stake, were tortured before death; in one case the victim's dead body was carried into town on the running board of an automobile and thrown into a public park where "it was viewed by thousands"; one victim had been captured and handed to the officers of the law by Negroes themselves. A Negro soldier, in uniform, was lynched for knocking down a deputy sheriff who attempted to arrest him on a charge of robbing other Negroes. Most atrocious of all were the five days' orgy in Brooks and Lowndes Counties, Ga., and the horrible cruelties visited upon Mary Turner, an eight months' pregnant woman, which are recited in the investigation published of our investigator's findings.*

In two cases the lynchings were carried out in the court-house yard and in one of these picture post-card photos were sold on the streets at twenty-five cents each.

UNREPORTED LYNCHINGS

INFORMATION has reached us that additional cases of lynching have occurred in Brooks and Lowndes Counties, Georgia, since the Association's investigator uncovered five more cases than were reported by the Georgia press as having occurred in May (See CRISIS for Sept., 1918). It is asserted by our informants that the only apparent effect in Georgia of the President's lynching pronouncement of July 26 last has been an evidently concerted agreement on the part of the press and authorities to keep all news regarding lynchings out of the Georgia press. Lending some color to this charge is the fact that no Georgia daily has at any time since May, 1918, published any account of the investigation made by the Association or of the fact that seventeen names of mob leaders were put in the hands of Governor Dorsey, despite the considerable press comment in the press of other states.

One of our Texas branches (Houston) reported the case of one alleged victim of a mob who was buried secretly and no publicity given to the facts. The branch's president has written to the acting-governor requesting an investigation of the circumstances. Finally, some lynchings which do get into the press are not carried beyond the immediate neighborhood, sometimes a very small one, unless there is some unusual feature to distinguish the event.

INNOCENCE ADMITTED PUBLICLY

IN three cases of which we have record the press has spoken of the innocence of victims; one of these involved three persons, another the ten victims of Brooks and Lowndes Counties mobs (aside from the one person who shot the white farmer which was the incentive to the lynchings). In another case it is our information that the husband of the woman whom it was alleged the Negro victim killed is himself, or was, under arrest, charged with the murder of his wife. In an additional case a bank cashier declared in an interview in an

* *The Work of a Mob*, THE CRISIS, *Sept.*, 1918, *pp.* 221-223.

Alabama paper that a certain lynching victim had committed no offense, that there had been a mistake made in the man the mob was after.

LEGAL ACTION

GOVERNOR BICKETT, of North Carolina, ordered the sheriff to investigate one case; "guilty parties could not be ascertained." He personally appealed to a mob at midnight and prevented the lynching of a man who was later hanged. The same governor ordered out, or secured the support of, a tank corps of 250 federal army men during the past month to assist the local authorities of Winston-Salem in holding the local jail against a mob which was attempting to get at a Negro prisoner to lynch him.

The mayor and "home guards" of Winston-Salem protected the aforementioned prisoner at the cost of the lives of some of the white officers of the law—despite the fact that they were emergency officers.

Governor Manning, of South Carolina, ordered a sheriff to arrest seventeen prominent farmers who had participated in a lynching. Bail was fixed at a total of $97,500 in February, but so far as we are aware no convictions have followed, nor have we learned of a trial being held.

Governor Henderson, of Alabama, in November, actively supported the attorney general of the state who personally took charge of an investigation of two lynchings which occurred in that state on the tenth and twelfth instants. Twenty-four indictments have been found as a result of this effort. Up to December 23, sixteen of these twenty-four had been arrested and lodged in jail.

ACTION BY EXECUTIVE OFFICE

IN 32 instances telegrams were sent to governors of 12 states protesting against the lynching of one or more Negroes, inquiring what action was being taken or was contemplated by local and state authorities to apprehend the members of lynching mobs, or, where efforts had been made to protect a Negro from mob violence or to bring mob members before the courts, commendatory telegrams and letters were sent. In 33 cases Chambers of Commerce were wired urging them to take strong and affirmative action to bring the violators and flouters of the law to justice; in nine cases other officials were telegraphed. In all such cases press publicity was given to the Association's action, 40 press stories being sent out.

In nine instances governors acknowledged our telegrams; in eight cases Chambers of Commerce replied and in four cases other officials did so.

Memoranda have been prepared and sent to the President, the Attorney General of the United States and to the executive committee of the American Bar Association, on the general subject of lynching but with reference to immediate practical action desired by the Association. Letters requesting editorial interest in the fight against lynching have been addressed to the leading papers of the country and matter prepared for specific use by individual papers.

Publicity in the press has been secured for the memoranda to the President and the Attorney General. Mr. Storey's address before the Wisconsin Bar Association on "The Negro Question," * which contains much reference to lynching, has been sent to all the members of Congress, to governors of all the states, mayors of cities, to libraries and to leading citizens in the country, some 6,000 copies having been distributed. Plans to distribute 17,500 copies of this address have been made.

The members of the executive staff have made reference to lynching in addresses in many cities to both white and colored audiences. Certain of Field Secretary Johnson's addresses before white audiences have met with notable response.

The Brooks and Lowndes Counties investigation has been printed as a pamphlet for general distribution. The offer of the *San Antonio Express* to pay rewards of $1,000 for each conviction and substantial punishment of the lynchers of a Negro (and $500 if white) has been given wide publicity among the branches.

INVESTIGATIONS

SPECIAL investigations by a member of the staff have been made of lynchings at Fayetteville, Ga.; Brooks and Lowndes Counties, Ga.; Estill Springs, Tenn.; Blackshear, Ga.; and of race riots and disturbances at Camp Merritt, N. J.; Brooklyn, N. Y., and Philadelphia, Pa.

* Moorfield Storey, President, N. A. A. C. P.

RESULTS

THE following examples of results following publicity sent out by the Association and telegrams addressed to Governors and Chambers of Commerce are reviewed:

On November 9, telegrams were sent to Governor Bickett of North Carolina and to the Chamber of Commerce of Raleigh of which that to the governor was acknowledged. The governor said that he agreed with the points made in the telegram and would back the county solicitor in efforts to fix the blame for the affair. The solicitor carried on an investigation for two weeks, examining twenty-one white and nine colored witnesses. The coroner's jury ran true to form, finding that the victim came to his death at the hands of "parties unknown" to the jury. Ten days later the same governor appealed successfully to an adjacent army camp for help to support the mayor and "home guards" of Winston-Salem in holding the local jail against a mob which wanted to take a Negro prisoner to lynch him. The two leading Raleigh newspapers, one of them owned by the Secretary of the Navy Daniels, carried strong editorial comment against the lynching and criticized the dereliction of the officers in allowing the first victim to be taken from them. One of them commented directly and favorably on the Association's telegram.

The Chambers of Commerce of Montgomery and Birmingham, Ala., acknowledged telegrams and letters of the Association sent during November, saying that they supported our view and that the governor had ordered the action referred to on a previous page of this report, that of instructing the attorney general of the state to push an investigation of the lynchings at Sheffield, through which twenty-four members of two lynching mobs have been indicted.

Notable is the comment of Governor Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, who on being interviewed late in December by a Jackson, Miss., reporter, said, in reply to a question as to what he was going to say to the Association's inquiry regarding the lynching of two men and two girls under twenty—that he was going to tell them to go to h———.

Space forbids the citation of further examples.

BY-PRODUCTS

THE most notable events affecting the anti-lynching campaign, aside from the Association's efforts, have been the President's pronouncement of July 26, the formation of the Tennessee Law and Order League in March and its present extension campaign to organize similar movements in all the Southern States and the offer of the *San Antonio Express* heretofore mentioned. The latter offer is, of course, of scant promise for effective service in the campaign.

An important effort of the committee is the securing of additional funds for the Anti-Lynching Fund. The December CRISIS carried an advertisement for $10,000 to be raised at once.

PROGRAM OF WORK FOR 1919

INCREASED effort along lines similar to those which have proved their value must be made during 1919. Publicity work should be extended to reach the most influential sources of opinion. The lynching data in possession of the Association, now being reviewed and prepared for effective use, must be printed and widely circulated.

The press, daily and periodical, the pulpit and platform, must be availed of to press our cause to the utmost of their ability. Our office staff must be supplemented by special workers devoting their exclusive attention, under the direction of the secretary, to this work.

OFFICERS ELECTED

AT the Board Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held Monday afternoon, January 6, 1919, the following officers were elected: National President, Moorfield Storey, Boston; Vice-Presidents, Archibald H. Grimké, Washington; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York; Bishop John Hurst, Baltimore; Captain Arthur B. Spingarn, New York; Oswald Garrison Villard, New York; Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mary White Ovington, New York; Treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard, New York; Director of Publications and Research, W. E. B. DuBois, New York; Secretary, John R. Shillady, New York; Field Secretary, James Weldon Johnson, New York; Assistant Secretary, Walter F. White, New York.

A NEW "FOREIGN LEGION"

Including Men From Cuba, Panama, British West Indies, Nicaragua, Holland, Switzerland, France, Ireland and England

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

MARY BURRILL in the *Liberator*, "To a Black Soldier Fallen in the War":

O Earth, lie light upon him,
Deep pillowed on thy breast;
O Winds, blow soft above him,
And gently lull to rest.

O questioning Heart, be silent,
Allay the bitter cry—
"Why should *he* thus perish?
Why, for freedom, die?"

* * *

"The Future Belongs to the People" is the title of a volume containing a series of speeches made since the beginning of the war by Karl Liebknecht. The book is edited and translated by S. Zimand and published by the Macmillan Company, New York. These speeches are well-worth reading, if only to get a concept of the intense and vigorous personality of their author. The introduction is by Walter Weyl, who says of Liebknecht:

"To die among thousands, even to die alone, if you think you hear the plaudits of your nation or your class, is a thing many of us have learned to do; but to stand up against a vindictive, irrational war spirit, such as ruled Germany, to stand up alone, to be condemned not only by your enemies but by those who called themselves your comrades and friends, to be met by polite derision and by actual threats of violence, to be called a mad-man, to be called a traitor, to be misunderstood and doubted; to be met in occasional moments of dejection, even by doubts in your own mind, and still to hold your own bravely and with cool passion, day after day and day after day, in circumstances growing daily more difficult, and finally to go to prison gladly, triumphantly—that is a courage surpassing the courage of the rest of us. It is easier to die, even by torture, than to persist in this opposition to forces, physical and mental, not only confronting but surrounding and even penetrating us."

* * *

Recent treatment of the Negro in periodicals:

Moving Day From Dixie. A. Lyons. *World Outlook*, October, 1918.

Negro Exodus. H. W. Horwill. *Contemporary Review*, September, 1918.

Africa and South America; Relations Between the African and South American Fauna and Flora. H. H. Johnston, *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1918.

Across South Africa in War Time. G. Mason. *Outlook*, September 25, 1918.

Rewards to Catch Lynchers. *Nation*, August 31, 1918.

Democracy *versus* Demo-n-cracy. *Survey*, August 3, 1918.

Fund for the Suppression of Lynching. *Survey*, August 24, 1918.

Conference of Negro Women. *Survey*, August 3, 1918.

When Dixie Goes Over the Top. H. Whitaker. *Independent*, June 22, 1918.

American Negro as a Fighting Man. *Review of Reviews*, August, 1918.

Bush Germans Better Watch That Chocolate Front. *Literary Digest*, June 15, '18.

No Angry-Saxyums. *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1918.

With the Negro Troops. E. R. Cunbree. *Survey*, August 10, 1918.

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION AND NEGRO LABOR

WILMER ATKINSON writing in the Philadelphia, Pa., *North American*, has this to say on the employment of Negro soldiers after the war:

The 300,000 colored soldiers abroad will be home in the course of the coming year and will be looking for jobs, and in this search they should be given fair-play by their white fellow-citizens, in recognition of their loyal services on the battlefields of France.

* * *

But the Federal Government feels differently, for the U. S. Railroad Administration has issued the following bulletin for the Northwestern Division:

UNITED STATES RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION
W. G. McADOO, DIRECTOR GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D. C.
NORTHWESTERN REGION
November 13, 1918.

"Employment of Negroes and the conditions under which Negroes are employed as firemen, hostlers, switchmen, brakemen, etc., are not to be extended beyond the practice heretofore existing; and you are cautioned

against employing Negroes for this class of service, or in any service not heretofore open to them, or to take the places of white men.

"R. H. AISHTON,
"Regional Director."

* * *

The Buffalo, N. Y., *Express* prints without comment the views of the *Chicago Defender* on this matter:

Nothing calls to mind so strongly the need of men of large ideas, forward-looking men, than the latest ukase from Mr. Aishton, Regional Director of Employees of the Railroad Administration, in which he seeks to restore Negro railroad men to a pre-war status. Mr. Aishton is rocking the boat. He is driving us to Bolshevism. We have always aligned ourselves on the side of law and order. Social discontent has never been permitted to enter into our hopes for better things. We have been content to live within the laws, supporting our flag and constitution, determined at all times to work out our salvation along the lines of sanity and decency.

But the most harmless worm can be driven to turn. We have the same aspirations, the same hopes, as other human beings. We do not desire to become a part of the great army of unrest now mustering its forces for a struggle, the outcome of which no man can see. To say, however, that we are blind to all the aspects of the situation is to assume that we are not human . . . . .

If we are not deserving of all the blessings that come as a reward of service well rendered, who is? Shall our faithfulness, shall our loyalty in every hour of national stress, be rewarded with a denial of those fundamental rights that belong to every citizen of the republic? Must we and our children continue to go fettered through the centuries?

* * *

The *New York News* wishes to know if this is the cause for which our men have died:

At the close of a war for Democracy we find Jim-Crowism quite as rampant on the Government-controlled railroads as it had been before the war, when these same railroads were controlled by private interests. So much for Democracy and "the rights of peoples great and small!" More, on these same Government-controlled railroads is instantly initiated a policy of industrial discrimination that cannot but be accepted by intelligent Negroes as living evidence that for them the Day of Democracy is not yet; that, in fact, they are still existing in a land and in a time where "all expressions of democratic sentiments are understood *not to include Negroes.*"

It concludes with natural pessimism:

We had anticipated that gradually but surely the industrial gates opened to the Negro during an emergency would be slammed in his face at the passing of that emergency. We had anticipated that in most of his expectations the Negro would be disappointed. But we had hardly looked for the spectacle of the United States Government itself and its accredited agents reintroducing the era of industrial strangulation for one-tenth of its own citizenship.

BLACK WARRIORS

THE whole black world has been represented in the Great War. The Milwaukee, Wis., *Free Press* says:

A picturesque feature in the allied march of victory was the place of honor given by France to two regiments. Out of an army of seasoned veterans, soldiers of proven valor, the lead was assigned to the Moroccans and the Foreign Legion, singled out from a body of troops all of whose regiments had a proud record. Like

"the Gascony Cadets
Of Carbon de Castel Jaloux,
Famed fighters, liars, desperates,"

the Foreign Legion is made of Frenchmen whose criminal record has put them beyond the pale, and with these cut-throats and desperadoes are combined an adventurous element, since this regiment alone is open to men of foreign birth who enlist under the French flag.

* * *

But even the spectacular Foreign Legion pales beside the Moroccan Division:

The French troops which last May barred Von Arnim, the German general, from debouching from Mt. Kemmel against Mt. Catz, included the famous Moroccan division which formed a part of the wonderful Iron Corps brought up from the Nancy region. Foreign soldiers and Algerian Tirailleurs are brigaded in the Moroccan division, making it one of the choicest and hardest fighting units of the allied arms.

The Moroccan division has seen more fighting than any other French unit during the war, particularly in Joffre's Champagne offensive in 1915, and at Verdun where it took part in the desperate Fleury and Thiaumont attacks which raged for weeks incessantly.

It executed a mammoth raid at Flirey, north of Toul, just before Americans took over that sector, and afterward supported the Americans stationed in their rear. At the beginning of Hindenburg's offensive last May the Moroccans were shifted northwest, seconding Chasseurs and Alpine troops, and later were rushed to the north to take part in the struggle for possession of the ridges guarding Ypres and the channel ports,

During this attack General Mangin reported that his black troops were fighting like demons.

The Moroccans, like all French colored troops, wear yellow khaki instead of the usual horizon-blue uniform. Members of the Foreign Legion wear the blood-red shoulder braid of the Legion of Honor. Their division has been four times cited as a unit for bravery in the field.

* * *

The Somalis and South African Negroes have covered themselves with glory:

The Somali battalion, recruited in Somaliland, are strict Mohammedans, never touching wine or alcohol. The Somalis are very independent in character and hard to deal with, but their French officers are accustomed to these freedom-loving tribesmen, and by appealing to their pride of race and their self-respect obtain their devoted obedience. They learn to handle modern infantry weapons quickly, and excel in grenade-throwing and in rifle and machine-gun practice, for these are men of intelligence and full of initiative.

Two hundred sixty-four personal citations for bravery were won by the Negro soldiers of a single Somali battalion since it was landed in France, June, 1916. Of these 190 were gained in the fierce battles along the Aisne and the remainder in the vicinity of Verdun.

In South Africa 40,000 Negroes were serving in Botha's command, while in the winter of 1916-17 there were between 6,000 and 7,000 Kafir-Zulus and Basutos laboring in France.

* * *

America shows up well, too. The *Free Press* concludes:

For the first time in American history, though in three wars thousands of colored men have fought under our flag, Negro officers are leading Negro troops. More than 600 men have been given commissions, 105 as captains and 420 as first and second lieutenants. Our Fifty-fourth Massachusetts was the first to be organized, but for many years there have been four Negro regiments in the regular army, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth infantry, and the Ninth and Tenth cavalry. They are notably steady under fire, patient to endure hardships, cheerful and good-natured at all times. And they can fight.

AFRICAN COLONIES

THE project of Africa for Africans has met with varying comment. Frank P. Chisholm, Field Secretary of Tuskegee Institute, says in the Boston, Mass., *American:*

Should not the principle of self-determination of smaller nations and weaker peoples be made to apply in the case of men even in darkest Africa? Do they not stand in need of justice, succor and sympathy, as well as the smaller nations and weaker peoples of Europe and the Balkan States, whose political and territorial war aims you so clearly and painstakingly set forth? Do not black men also cry out for the right to elect or ordain their own destiny under the leadership and guidance of enlightened and sympathetic men, rather than under oppressive and cruel masters?

The fate of these African peoples is bound to come before the Peace Conference for settlement, and all attempts, intentional or unintentional, to ignore this fact or to focus the situation otherwise indicate a tendency and probably a purpose to "shunt aside" or to exclude the African peoples in some way from the benefits of the principle of self-determination.

Is it not pertinent to ask, "Are German colonies in Africa to be turned back to Germany, that the horrors of the past may be revisited upon their defenceless heads?" Black men of America and Africa have helped to defeat and humble the German. They, too, desire and deserve to have some voice in the determination of their own destiny.

* * *

The Syracuse, N. Y., *Journal* says in an editorial:

To be granted by the Peace Conference a goodly slice of Africa, where the Negro race may prove its capacity for self-government under the principle of "self-determination," is a laudable ambition, and the action of the allied statesmen at Versailles on the memorial prepared for their consideration by a delegation is a matter of great importance.

The petitioners' plea that they be given for the establishment of a colored man's government the former German colonies in South Africa discloses no unsurmountable barrier, only the prospect of indifference to a proposal that cannot, however near it may be to the hearts of the race it embraces, measure up in emergency and importance with countless others involved primarily in the subject of international adjustments.

Certainly the colonies in question will not be returned to their original owner. They could be listed at a fixed price by the conference, accepted by some nation or nations sufficiently interested in the unexpected proposal to pay a large price for negotiating the enterprise, and then turned over to the colored race under certain conditions guaranteeing their proper governmental use. But such a course appears at this moment to be quite unlikely. To entertain a hope, however, that France and Portugal would listen to the suggestion that they turn over their colonial holdings in Africa, to be devoted to the enlargement of the proposed Negro republic, is almost unthinkable.

Some comments attempt to paint the project as being merely ridiculous. The New York *Evening Sun* thinks that the setting up of an independent Negro or Malaysian "self-governing" republic would be a wild absurdity. History, however, does not recall any failure on the part of a black government more dire than the break-down of modern civilization during the last four years. The *Evening Sun* remarks:

It is but natural that in these days of discussion preliminary to the Peace Conference the "lunatic fringe" should be a good deal in evidence. Every one who has some patent nostrum to offer to insure the millennium in politics, industry, sociology, is naturally trying to bring it to public attention in Paris just now. . . . .

That serious discussion is devoted to such schemes and considerable space given them in American papers shows how much many of our people have yet to learn of international relationships, of diplomacy, of trade, of government, to say nothing of the course of history in the past. And chasing that sort of rainbow may sometimes develop into a dangerous occupation.

* * *

James W. Johnson, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has this reply to make to the *Evening Sun's* remark:

I take it that your editorial refers to the step taken by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in sending W. E. B. DuBois to France on a mission which includes an effort to bring to the attention of the peace delegates and the world a disposition of the former German colonies that would be in accord with American war and peace aims. I so take it because I know of no other organized effort in this direction.

Will you allow me to say that the Advancement Association has no intention of asking that these colonies be made "independent" black states? The program presented by Dr. DuBois contemplates only that these colonies be internationalized, and that their government be administered solely for the benefit and development of the natives, who should be given participation as fast as their development warrants.

* * *

The St. Louis, Mo., *Republican* makes a sane comment:

One of the most interesting of the side issues in the Peace Conference will be the effort of American Negroes in behalf of the natives in German East Africa. Their idea appears to be that the tribes in that country can be organized to govern themselves and that the Peace Conference should provide for their protection while that end is being realized.

Intelligent Negroes, like Moton and Du Bois, know, of course, that there can be no government among those people comparable to civilized governments, but, apparently, they see in their plans a hope that the black man may eventually have a country of his own in his native Africa. They are looking forward to the day when the jeering song "Every Nation Has A Flag But The Coon" will not be true.

These thoughtful Negroes probably think of their scattered tribes somewhat as the Jews do and are seeking a Palestine. It is a natural impulse, and the millions of Negroes in this country with their very considerable wealth would contribute liberally to schools and the other agencies of civilization which would make an experiment in the development of an African nation in the modern sense possible. The history of Liberia is not encouraging, but these days are different from the days when the Liberian ship of state set sail.

PUBLIC OPINION

PUBLIC opinion is beginning to voice the awakening of the social conscience. America, in spite of herself, is forced to wonder how Negroes make her treatment of them measure up with their newly-acquired ideals of democracy. The New York *Evening Globe* says thoughtfully:

Returning on the *Celtic* recently were five battle-scarred members of Colonel Hayward's famous Negro regiment, by all accounts second to none in achievement in the great business of rounding up the Hun. . . . .

They were glad they were back, as their shining faces attested. With all her faults they still love America. They hope on that the sun of the day of justice and equality will yet rise. Souls of black folk—what they feel may be left to psychologists to analyze. But it may be surmised that something akin to bitterness at least temporarily finds lodgment. The world is being made a safe place for democracy. The President is abroad on the great enterprise of securing equality for all. Yet in the homeland he thinks it no shame to come into close affiliation with elements whose chief political prepossession is that democracy shall cease functioning when it approaches the cabin of the man of color. Not that the President is specially inconsistent or specially to blame. Our radical elements, those complaining most loudly against injustice, are as cold as marble to wrong done to 10,000,000 Americans.

Marshal Haig, in his talk at Cologne, counselled the British correspondents to do what they could to prevent an undue swelling of British heads. The advice is, also, good for us. When we feel ourselves being puffed up by thought of our national

virtues, let us think of the Negro and be humble. It is by no means certain that those who have worn the country's uniform and borne their full part in protecting civilization will gain the primary boon of being judged according to their merits as men rather than as members of a race against which there is discrimination more gross than that endured by any of the underdogs of Europe. In one respect our high professions are a sham.

* * *

The Bay City, Mich., *Times-Tribune* suggests a list of New Year Resolutions:

One of the suggestions is that the American people cut out some of the offensive nicknames which have come into use—nicknames which carry a sting into the hearts of those to whom they are applied.

Men of foreign birth, or of color, should not be nicknamed. We should not hurt the self-respect of other human beings. "Dago," "Wop," "Nigger" and similar appellations are disrespectful and hurt people's feelings.

We must remember that when the war came on, we were not particular about a person's nationality or color, when looking for soldiers to fight the German enemy. We called in the Italian, the Hungarian, the Negro, and other nationalities, and told them to fight, and they did fight—fought as well as the soldiers of any other nationality. In every battle these men gave a good account of themselves. They showed heroism and daring equal to other soldiers. They helped win the war for us. . . . .

Our young people are asked to pledge themselves not to call a Negro, "Nigger"; nor a Mexican, a "Greaser," nor any foreign-born among us by any nickname offensive to him—and nearly every nickname is offensive to the person at whom it is thrown.

All Boy Scouts are asked to eliminate from their talk all these nicknames. Many Boy Scout camps already have given their word that they will do this.

Hopes are entertained that when the time comes when all our boys and girls have discontinued this bad habit, grown-ups will place a closer guard on their tongues, and then no one will be a "Nigger," a "Wop," a "Greaser," or a "Guiney."

They'll all be men and women, standing on an equal footing in this respect at least, be they ditchdiggers, scrubwomen, bankers or wives of millionaires.

Honestly, we grown-ups would better blue-pencil some of our nickname stuff ourselves before our sons and daughters do it for us!

* * *

A writer in the Cincinnati, Ohio, *Commercial Tribune* pleads for the complete abolishment of the misnomer "nigger." He says:

The person does not exist in America who can more rightfully hold his head high by reason of his pride in heroic deeds done and amount of blood shed to wash the filth of aristocracy forever from American soil than can the Negro. No people by the sweat of their brow have excelled—if they have equalled—the Negro in helping to make this country the labyrinth of wealth that it now is—certainly those from whom we all so justly wish to move the names of ridicule have not. The very irony of the thing might be humorous to an outsider, don't you think? It would be possible for it to strike him as being a parallel case with the Biblical Pharisee who prayed his prayer standing in the open market simply that the passer-by might hear and applaud, but certainly we understand that such is not the case. We sing ourselves hoarse with the word democracy too much for that; it just merely happens for some reason or other that in our eagerness to extend our democracy to the stranger within our gates we, as a whole, have overlooked the word "nigger" used in derision of our fellow-countrymen and comrades in arms.

A SORRY CONDITION

THE rumor that Congress will try to pass a bill cutting down to constitutional limit the representation of Southern States which do not permit Negroes to vote meets with calm disbelief in the press of both political parties. The Boston, Mass., *Post* says:

Among the ambitious plans already outlined by the Republican chiefs who will control the next House of Representatives is said to be one to put through a bill whereby the number of federal representatives from the states shall be apportioned on the basis of the vote cast and not of population.

There is no denying the justice of such a measure. Most of the Southern States, on one pretext or another, deny the uninfluential colored man the vote. A law such as that proposed would compel these states either to permit unrestrained Negro voting or to find their representation in Congress very much cut down.

But the Republicans will not pass such a bill. They had the opportunity to do so for many years after the Civil War, and they did not embrace it. The trouble is that the scheme would cut both ways, for in some of the most populous Northern Republican States the vote is away behind the number of inhabitants, and the G. O. P. might stand to lose fully as many representatives in Congress as the Democrats would.

* * *

Is not this the shame of a nation?

Press Illustrating Company

THE NATIONAL FUNERAL OF GENERAL GALLIENI. THE SENEGALIAN CHASSEURS, WHO TOOK PART IN THE FAMOUS BATTLE OF OURCQU, WHICH MADE THIS GENERAL FAMOUS PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

THE WAR

THE A. and T. College of Greensboro, N. C., has demobilized its S. A. T. C. Unit of 815 Negro soldiers. President Dudley has been informed by telegraph from the Committee on Education and Special Training to proceed with the organization of the Reserve Army Training Corps.

¶ The total casualties of the Ninety-second, colored, Division has been estimated at 1,478. Among the killed were 6 officers. One officer and 31 enlisted men died from wounds received in action; 40 enlisted men died from diseases; 28 enlisted men are listed as "missing"; 16 officers and 543 enlisted men were wounded; 39 officers and 661 enlisted men were gassed. The Division's number of gassed is usually large. A reason is, perhaps, that the colored soldiers in the front-line trenches of this division were unusually daring in making raids into the enemy's territory.

¶ The following additional reports have come to us of the recognition France has given Negro soldiers and regiments with the American Expeditionary Force: 370th, Illinois, Infantry was twice cited for valiant conduct, 25 members were recommended for the Distinguished Service Cross and 100 were decorated; the entire 367th, "Buffalo," Infantry was cited for bravery and each member awarded the *Croix de Guerre;* 124 members of the 371st and 372d Infantries were decorated, four of whom received the War Cross; the *Medaille Militaire* was awarded to Sergeant Depew Preyor, Corporal Clifton Morrison, Privates Clarence Van Allen and Kenneth Lewis, the second of whom was killed at his post by hand grenades.

¶ Figures just made available show that for the month of September there were handled at the American base-ports in France 767,648 tons, or a daily average of 25,588 tons, an increase of nearly ten per cent over August. When it is considered that colored stevedores handled by far the largest percentage of this tonnage, some idea can be formed of the very valuable service these colored men are rendering the government.

¶ In a Peace Parade in Atlanta, Ga., white Southerners joined in cheers with the colored people when a Negro Captain, James H. Scott, passed at the head of his S. A. T. C. Battalion. The daily papers, however, made absolutely no mention of the colored participants, although beside the S. A. T. C. Battalion there were more than a dozen organizations, represented by nearly three thousand Negroes.

¶ Mrs. Mary Church Terrell has been appointed an assistant in the Personnel Department of the War Camp Community Service Headquarters at 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

¶ Hill 304, which the French so valiantly held, was later as valiantly held by the colored soldiers from the United States, who fought with all the heroism and endurance that the best traditions of the army has recorded.

¶ A white soldier with the American Expeditionary Force has written to his mother: "A French officer said the other day that of all the troops he had ever seen in the line, barring none—British, French, Canadians, Australians—the finest he had seen were the drafted Afro-Americans; they are wonderful in the open warfare."

¶ Carl Jackson, a Negro of Long Beach, Cal., has been cited for bravery. He was a member of an American scouting party when he encountered three Germans. One of the Boches brought him down with a bullet in his right leg. However, when the Germans least expected, he raised up and with three shots from his revolver wounded the three Boches and took them as prisoners.

¶ French cooks in the employ of the American Red Cross in France are learning from a Georgia Negro, Thomas Kane, how to make pies, etc., for the American Expeditionary Force.

¶ Elsie R. Lyons, a nurse at the Hospital Americaine, Juilly, France, has written to America: "I wish you could see me nursing a big American Negro. He is dreadfully wounded, but is just the best patient you could imagine. Really, all the boys of his color are exceptionally good patients. We have three of them in the building, and you ought to hear them tell of their experiences in the trenches."

¶ Sergeant-Major Sherman D. Scruggs, of Kansas City, Mo., has passed the officers' examination at the training school in France and been made a First Lieutenant in the 370th Infantry. While his division was under French command, he won a medal for bravery in action when carrying orders through intense shell fire.

¶ The Ninety-second Division, composed wholly of colored troops under the command of Major-General Charles G. Ballou, exhibited so much valor, courage and bravery that the Division Commander was impelled to send out a bulletin of congratulation to be read before each unit of the division.

¶ It has been suggested that the denunciation of Governor McCall, of Massachusetts, by Governor Cornwell, of Virginia, as a "foe of the South" eliminated the former governor from the Peace Commission.

¶ The colored Field Artillery Regiment at Camp Jackson, Columbia, S. C., won first place in a competitive drill in which twenty-four white regiments participated.

¶ Private Harry Thomas, of Philadelphia, Pa., enlisted in the 369th Infantry, has been decorated by the French for bravery. He took an active part in the battle of the Marne three days and nights without food or sleep.

¶ Announcement is made that the Federal Board for Vocational Education will undertake regardless of race the training of a disabled soldier for a new occupation or retraining to better fit him for his former occupation, this training to be free of cost, if he is entitled to compensation under the war risk insurance law. The family or dependents of each disabled man will receive from the Government during his period of training the same monthly allowance as that paid prior to his discharge from the Army or Navy.

¶ A white officer of the American Expeditionary Force says of his assignment to a colored regiment: "I didn't like the idea at first, felt that I had sort of had something pushed over on me, but ever since I got here I have liked it better, and now I am very well satisfied. Much better in a good many ways than I would be in a white regiment. There are several colored officers in the regiment. They are all very gentlemanly and we get along tip-top."

MARY E. POPE,
Assistant Orderly, Minneapolis, Minn., Motor Corps

¶ The Stevedore Cantonment and the Labor Encampments in the vicinity of Newport News, Va., will hereafter be known collectively as Camp Alexander, in honor of the late Lieutenant John H. Alexander, Ninth U. S. Cavalry, a Negro graduate of the U. S. Military Academy, who served from the time of his graduation until his death as an officer of the U. S. Army.

¶ Dr. Iverson O. Mitchell, of Washington, D. C., who enlisted as a private in the Medical Reserve of the Ninety-second, colored, Division, has been promoted to First Lieutenant in the Dental Corps, upon recommendation of the Commanding General of the American Expeditionary Force.

¶ Captain Joseph E. Trigg with the 368th

Infantry has been transferred to the staff and placed in charge of munitions. Captain Trigg took an active and creditable part in the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient.

¶ A part of General Order, number eleven, issued by the Commanding General of the 167th Field Artillery Brigade, colored, states: "They have been zealous soldiers and skillful artillerymen. Their recompense lies in their knowledge of work well done and in the commendation of those well qualified to speak. By day and night, often under a hail of shrapnel, often through clouds of deadly gas, they have marched and fought, dragged their guns sometimes by hand into the line, kept open their lines of communication and brought up their supplies, always with a cheerfulness that earned them the admiration of all."

MUSIC AND ART

COLONEL CHARLES YOUNG has written the words and music of a song "There's a Service Flag in the Window," which is dedicated to Charles Burroughs.

¶ "Go On, Mule," an army camp folk-song, developed by J. Fletcher Bryant and R. Nathaniel Dett, has been published by J. Fischer and Brother, New York.

¶ The Colored Centennial Chorus of nearly two hundred voices sang in the Centennial Celebration of the State of Illinois.

¶ Negro Spirituals were the sole music at a recent vesper service in the famous First Presbyterian Church of Syracuse, New York.

¶ At one of the patriotic song hours before the starting of work at Rothchild's Department Store, Chicago, Ill., Mme. Anita Patti Brown and her accompanist, Miss Morley, appeared and rendered "The Colored Soldier Boys of Uncle Sam" and "Villanelle."

¶ "The Sailor and His Songs," a continued article written by Maud Cuney Hare, is featured in the January number of *The Musical Observer*. Mrs. Hare traces a number of sea "chanteys" to Afro-American folk-song.

¶ The 807th Pioneer Infantry Band, Will Vodery, Director, has been doing praiseworthy work in France. They played at one of the base hospitals so acceptably that they were obliged to accept a return engagement. Louia V. Jones, saxophonist, graduate in violin from the New England Conservatory of Music last June, has had occasion to appear as violin soloist as well as doing regular band duty. Mr. Vodery has given much time to arranging music and acts for soldiers in France.

¶ At a concert given in Æolian Hall, New York, for the benefit of the Governor's Auxiliary of the American Red Cross by the U. S. Army Training School Band, a male chorus sang two Negro Spirituals noted by Natalie Curtis Burlin.

¶ Jean Loncke, a Negro tenor, gave a song recital at Rush Memorial Church in New York City under the auspices of the Harlem Conservatory of Fine Arts. Among his selections were works of Burleigh, S. Coleridge-Taylor, Tosti, Meyerbeer, Verdi, Donizetti, Massenet, Moussorgsky.

¶ Clarence Cameron White, violinist, and T. Theo. Taylor, pianist, have appeared recently in joint recitals on the Pacific Coast. The Sunday *Oregonian* (Portland) said:

> Mr. White is well grounded in violin playing and in interpreting the Vitali "Chaccone" and his own setting of "Bandanna Sketches." Mr. White exhibited lovely tone, deft bowing and cultured technique. In the Dvorak and Coleridge-Taylor numbers Mr. White excelled and was rewarded with delighted approval from his audience.
>
> Mr. Taylor is a finished pianist with a strong, masculine touch. He has been well schooled and is evidently a faithful, conscientious student, satisfied only with the best in interpretative musical values. He is an intelligent reader of Grieg and Chopin, and excelled in playing the latter's delicate, beautiful, romantic "Berceuse" and "Scherzo in B-Flat Minor." Mr. White's playing of the Coleridge-Taylor "Gypsy Song" and "African Dance" also was deservedly admired.

¶ The Utopia Neighborhood Club of New York City gave a matinee musicale and reception to wounded Negro soldiers during the holiday season. Thirty-eight wounded soldiers from the base hospitals in and around New York were guests on this occasion.

INDUSTRY

THE Lycoming Rubber Company, Williamsport, Pa., is employing seventy colored girls who are making shoes.

¶ The U S. Employment Service has opened branch offices in colored neighborhoods and placed competent Negro examiners in charge in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, Chattanooga and At-

lanta, to better serve colored wage-earners, who are still eligible to service in any office. The Department of Labor desires that in every state the Negro wage-earner shall get in touch with these officials on all matters relating to labor conditions affecting them.

¶ Dairy extension forces in North Carolina have placed eighteen head of pure-bred Jersey cows with Negro farmers, which is said to be the first organized effort to place pure-bred animals for family use on Negro farms. The Negroes paid an average of $100 a head for the stock.

¶ Dr. George E. Haynes, speaking before the Academy of Political Science at Hotel Astor, New York City, said: "In Detroit, in 1914, there were probably not a thousand Negroes in all the factories in that great automobile centre. The latest report from Detroit, about two months ago, stated that probably sixteen or seventeen thousand Negroes were engaged in the industries of that city."

¶ Mrs. Tompkins, a colored woman employed by Sears, Roebuck Company, Chicago, Ill., as entry clerk, has been made an instructor. This company recently employed two hundred colored girls to do clerical work.

¶ The Mutual Savings and Loan Bank has been opened by Negroes at Charleston, W. Va., with a capital of $125,000. It is located in the building owned by the Grand Lodge of Pythians, opposite the State Capitol. The officers are C. E. Mitchell, President; A. H. Brown and J. M. Canty, Vice-Presidents; T. G. Nutter, Secretary and Treasurer.

¶ One hundred and forty-two Negro men agents and 194 Negro women agents of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural Colleges were at work in the Southern States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.

MEETINGS

THE thirteenth annual session of the State Association of Negro Teachers of Oklahoma will convene at Okmulgee, February 21-22.

¶ The Farmer's Industrial and Agricultural Congress has been organized in Okmulgee, Okla., with Mr. J. H. Wallace, President.

¶ At a meeting in Hartford, Conn., of the Colored Cooks' and Waiters' Association it was voted to enlarge the scope of the organization by admitting porters and "Red Caps" of Canada and the United States.

¶ The National Urban League held its seventh annual meeting, December 4, in New York City. The work of this organization is being carried on in twenty-nine cities, by seventeen paid executive secretaries and eighty-one other paid employees. During the past year $102,500 was expended, as against $2,500 the first year of its existence. The name of the League was formally changed to "National Urban League," with the understanding that the phrase "For Social Service Among Negroes" would appear in connection with the name whenever it appears in print. Among the speakers were Professor Kelly Miller and Arthur Gleason, who has returned from England, where he studied the British Labor Party's Program for the Reconstruction Period.

¶ The National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War held an Institute, December 16-17, in Memphis, Tenn., at Avery Chapel A. M. E. Church and at Church's Auditorium. The following persons spoke on the New Tasks of Reconstruction: Industry, Rev. A. C. Williams; Religion, Rev. R. E. Jones; Economics, Fayette McKenzie; Social Service, Dr. C. H. Williamson; Education, L. B. Moore; New Civic Task, Emmett J. Scott.

¶ The Baptist Forward Movement has been organized at Louisville, Ky., with Dr. H. W. Jones, President.

¶ Commissions of the Indiana State Baptist Association and the Union Baptist Association, colored organizations, have met at Indianapolis and adopted resolutions merging the organizations which have been separated for two years. The Rev. G. W. Ward, of Indianapolis, is the moderator of the Union Baptist Association, and the Rev. R. D. Leonard, of Connersville, is moderator of the Indiana Baptist Association.

¶ At the dinner of the League of Nations held in New York City at Café Boulevard under the auspices of the Association of Neighborhood Workers, of which Mrs. V. G. Simkhovich is president, Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the Urban League, was the only Negro present among 400 guests. Mr. Jones asked that America

while acting as spokesman for the New Democracy save herself from an embarrassing situation instituting reform measures at home that would guarantee to all its citizens—black as well as white—such a portion of justice as would make them a free people indeed.

¶ Nearly three hundred delegates from thirty states attended the National Colored Congress conducted by the National Equal Rights League at Washington, D. C. Eleven persons were elected to go to Versailles in the interest of the Negro during the Peace sessions.

POLITICS

IN Los Angeles, Cal., Frederick M. Roberts, a colored man, was elected to the Assembly from the Seventy-fourth District.

¶ The vote of Negro Republicans in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Wards, Chicago, Ill., was the factor in the defeat of James C. Jones, Democratic nominee for State Senator.

¶ William A. Riley, the colored nominee for the Legislature, St. Louis, Mo., was defeated by a plurality of 337 votes of his Democratic opponent.

¶ T. V. Coleman, a colored man of Fayette County, formerly postmaster at Kimberly, was elected to the Legislature of West Virginia.

¶ Negro Democrats of the Fifth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Twenty-third Assembly Districts, Brooklyn, N. Y., have united into one organization, with twenty-seven male and female members, under the leadership of Wesley L. Young.

EDUCATION

OGDEN HALL, in memory of the late Robert C. Ogden, has been opened at Hampton Institute. It is a new auditorium which accommodates 2,500 persons. The Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, of Cambridge, Mass., has been elected a member of the Board of Trustees of Hampton.

¶ Free Evening Schools for Negroes have been opened at the Lincoln and Dunbar Schools, East St. Louis, Ill. The first Public Evening School for Negroes in New Orleans, La., has been opened by the New Orleans School Board, at McDonough School 35, with T. W. Hoffman, Principal of the Colored High School, also principal of the night school.

¶ Colored teachers and pupils of Evening School 17, Indianapolis, Ind., held an "Attendance Night," to bring before the people the opportunities offered.

THE CHURCH

BEULAH BAPTIST CHURCH, Tampa, Fla., under the pastorship of the Rev. G. D. Griffin, has in two and one-half years increased its membership from 300 to 725 and its Sunday collections from between $15 to $25 to $75 to $145. A recent rally raised over $5,000. A parsonage and other property have been bought and a new, modern church is being contemplated.

¶ Lieutenant Allan O. Newman is Chaplain in the 366th Infantry of the Ninety-second, colored, Division of the National Army.

Lieutenant Allan O. Newman

¶ Right Rev. Edward Thomas Demby, the first Negro bishop of the Episcopal Church with jurisdiction in the United States of America, has ordained the Rev. Frank Norman Fitzpatrick to the priesthood, in the Chapel of the Redeemer, Oklahoma City, Okla. The Rev. Father Fitzpatrick is the first Negor to be ordained a priest in this country by a colored bishop.

¶ The congregation of Ames M. E. Church, Baltimore, Md., in three weeks raised $1,500, and since April last $7,000 more, with which it has wiped out its mortgage. The Rev. Albert Mitchell is pastor.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C., has published a free pamphlet in its campaign for a cleaner nation.

¶ A colored nurse at Winnemucca, Nev., was paid thirty dollars a day for services in a family during the influenza epidemic. A Negro cook in Orleans, La., has refused an offer of thirty dollars from a private family, though it is the highest wage ever offered for such services in the South.

¶ Jessie Elizabeth Jones, a colored woman, has been appointed Supervisor of Field Work for the American Red Cross, at Chicago, Ill.

¶ The U. S. Patent Office has granted

patent No. 1,258,748 to Professor A. U. Craig, formerly instructor in the Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C., for an air invention in cushion supports for vehicles. The invention comprises a device for quickly absorbing the minor vibrations of automobiles or other vehicles on their axles and is said to be of much practical worth in the use of motor vehicles.

¶ A Negro physician has been assigned to Bellevue Hospital, New York City, in the person of Dr. J. B. Ford, a graduate of Howard University.

¶ Mr. H. E. Moore, a young colored man, has been appointed in the Law Department of the Boston Elevated Railroad to do legal work in its claim department.

¶ Captain Arthur B. Spingarn, of the Sanitary Corps, U. S. Army, and a member of the Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P., is making a trip through the West for the purpose of securing the practical co-operation of colored people in working out a constructive program for the care of colored soldiers as they are being demobilized. Among the cities to be visited by Captain Spingarn are Chicago, Cincinnati, Des Moines, Kansas City, Mo., and Louisville, where the Association has branches. Branches are asked to co-operate with Captain Spingarn in every possible way.

¶ Appropriation bills for the maintenance of the Negro City Hospital, St. Louis, Mo., have been passed, providing $25,000 for equipment, $19,000 for salaries, $13,000 for supplies. It will have 500 beds, 16 internes, 56 nurses. Dr. R. C. Haskell, a graduate of Meharry, has been appointed superintendent.

¶ The Court of Appeals, Annapolis, Md., has given a decision in favor of Morgan College for the development of seventy acres of land on Hillen Road for Negro residential purposes.

¶ The Bureau of Education at Washington, D. C., is appealing for funds for the maintenance of many worthy Negro schools in the South because the demands of war appeals have made it almost impossible to raise sufficient funds for these schools, most of which have no income save donations.

¶ Mr. F. W. M. Butler after having been employed for twenty-five years by the North River Steamboat Company as billing clerk was recently appointed agent for the Company at Elizabeth City, N. C., being the first Negro in this section to hold such a position.

PERSONAL

LIEUTENANT GUY CANADY, a graduate of Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., was killed in action while serving with the 366th Infantry of the American Expeditionary Force. He is a son of Rev. and Mrs. H. D. Canady, and brother of Dr. H. M. Canady.

¶ The celebrations of the thirtieth anniversary of Dr. M. W. Adams as Dean of Atlanta University were full of interest and appreciation. A portrait of Dr. Adams, painted by a student, was presented to the institution by the Alumni Association.

First Sergeant Thomas A. Frazier

¶ First Sergeant Thomas A. Frazier entered Camp Lee, Petersburg, Va., June, 1918, as a private. In less than five weeks he was promoted to the rank of Corporal, thence to Sergeant and then to First Sergeant. Since the signing of the armistice, Camp Lee has become the center for mustering out soldiers from all parts of the South. In this work, First Sergeant Frazier has a very active part.

¶ Mrs. Helen Louise Dillet Johnson, the mother of James Weldon Johnson, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and of J. Rosamond Johnson, the well known musician, died January 6, in New York City, at the age of seventy-six years.

¶ The erection of a monument in memory of Private Henry W. Richardson, 317th Labor Battalion, who died and was buried at sea on his way to France with the American Expeditionary Force, is being planned for the U. S. National Cemetery at New Albany, Ind., his home town. His officers and comrades have raised a fund for the memorial.

¶ George P. White, a Negro member of the 55th and 56th Congress from North Carolina, is dead at Philadelphia, Pa.

¶ Dr. H. H. Proctor celebrated his fiftieth birthday, December 8, at Atlanta, Ga. Almost half of this time he has been pastor of the First Congregational Church, Atlanta, which has grown from a membership of over 100 to nearly 1,000.

MEN AND WOMEN TRAINED IN AGRICULTURE
WILL BE IN GREAT DEMAND AFTER THE WAR

"Plans for providing the returned soldier with land are rapidly taking shape. * * * Let us not think of the individual returned soldier exiled to a tongue of green land between the stony breasts of western mountains * * * but of organic communities of one or two hundred farms with competent agricultural advisers to brace up the technique of those who are willing to learn."—The New Republic.

Secretary Lane is urging that plans and surveys and studies be instituted now so that when demobilization begins, farms and homes may be offered to the returned soldiers on the most encouraging terms.

Under the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act, the Government is already training Teachers, Agriculturalists and Mechanics whose services will be in great demand after the war to help these soldiers and rural inhabitants adjust themselves to the problems of reconstruction.

Tuskegee Institute offers the Smith-Hughes Course in:

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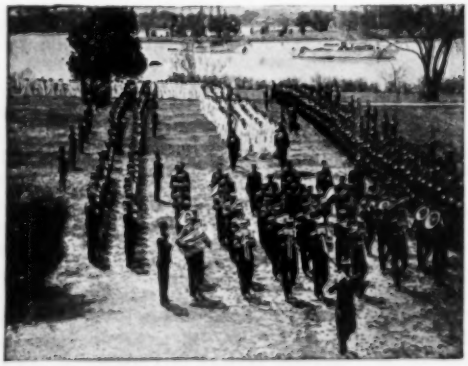

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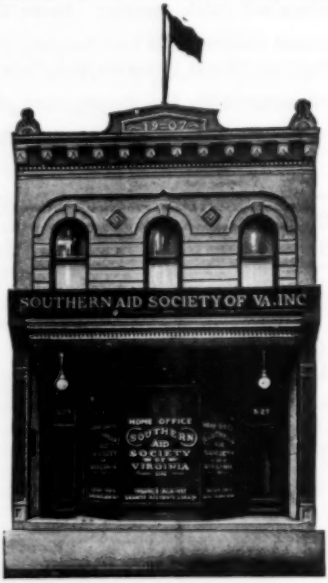

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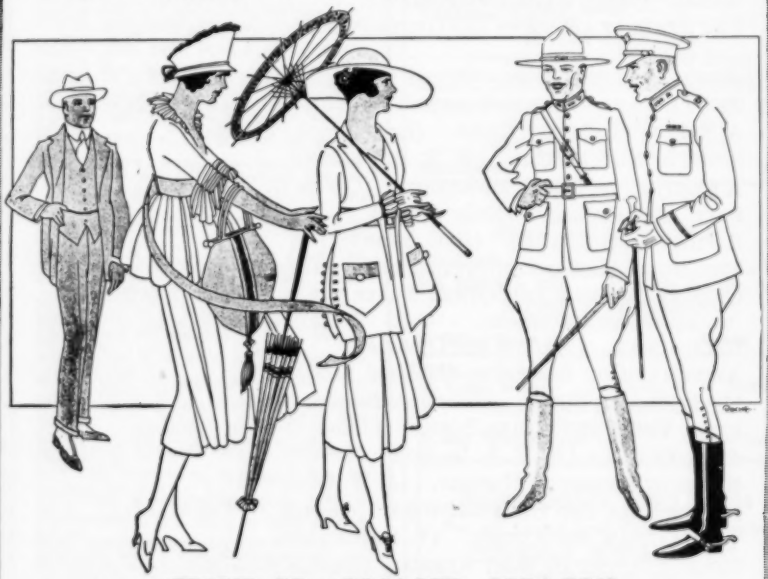

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